

9.

A Biography vol 18

Short Narrative
OF THE
LIFE and DEATH
OF
JOHN RHINHOLDT
Count PATKUL,
A NOBLEMAN of LIVONIA,
Who was Broke alive upon the Wheel
in Great Poland, Anno 1707.

Together with the
Manner of his EXECUTION:
*Written by the Lutheran Minister, who assisted
him in his last Hours.*

Faithfully Translated out of a *High Dutch* Manuscript;
and now Publish'd for the Information of Count
Gyllenborg's *English* Friends.

By L. M. K

*Regibus, Boni quam Mali suspectiores sunt.
Gratia Oneri, Ultio in quaestu habetur.*
Tacitus.

THE SECOND EDITION.

L O N D O N:

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*Poland
ob. 1707*

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April 8. 1717.

TO THE
BOOKSELLER.

MR. GOODWIN,

YOU tell me you are importuned every Day by Persons of Distinction, to publish some Account of the Life and Death of Count Patkul ; and you have importun'd me in your Turn, to furnish you with such Memoirs as I had by me, relating to Sweden, wherein that unfortunate Gentleman has been mention'd ; that you might, in some Measure, satisfy the impatient Curiosity of your Friends. I have yielded to your repeated Desires, with too much haste for a Performance of this Kind, wherein it was necessary to add a few Reflections naturally arising from the Subject : But knowing how great the Expecta-

TO THE BOOKSELLER.

Expectations were, of some very ill-minded Men among us, and how great the Apprehensions of many good ones, from this King of Sweden, and his designed Expedition, I would not delay it. Gentlemen of both these Sorts may from hence learn, what they are to fear, or hope for, from a Magnanimity so wrong turn'd; and an utter Ignorance of all Laws, and Liberties; with an Impatience of Contradiction, beyond what has appeared in the World these Five Hundred Years past. If your Profit may be joined with other Peoples Pleasure and Instruction, by this my Compliance with your earnest Request, I have my Ends, and I hope you have yours.

I am,

Your Affectionate Friend,

and Servant.



A
 Short Narrative
 OF THE
 LIFE and DEATH
 OF
 Count PATKUL.



THE Ruining of all the Old Nobility and Gentry of *Sweden* by the Reduction, Resumption, or Re-union of the Crown-Lands, (for it had all these Names) caused there such an odd Kind of universal Misery and Desolation, that the like was never before known in any Part of *Europe*. It fell heaviest upon the most Noble and Wealthy of that Kingdom;
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whose Families, from the greatest Affluence, were immediately reduced to the utmost Degree of Poverty : And such Numbers of Gentlemen were oppressed by this Project, that the Clamours in all the Provinces and Towns, of Persons of the best Quality perishing for want of Bread, was enough to have moved the most obdurate Hearts to Pity and Compassion.

One might have seen those of the first Quality, who but a few Months before had lived in the highest Splendor, in well-furnish'd Palaces, attended by numerous Domesticks, provided of large and magnificent Services of Plate, now (in a manner) begging with their Wives and Children, with scarce sufficient Cloaths to cover them. Several of the poor Noblemen and Gentlemen wandred thro' the Neighbouring Countries in this sad Condition, imploring the Commiseration and Assistance of all good People, and sending up their frequent Looks and Groans to Heaven ; while others were forc'd to undergo the Weight of their Calamities at home, if that can be properly called Home, where the miserable have neither Means nor Dwelling.

And the most grievous Circumstance (among many bad ones) was this ; That the Persons thus treated, were for the most part such whose Families had merited best from the Crown, and had spent their Blood and Fortunes in its Service.

This

This Destruction of all the better Sort, drew along with it that of those who depended on them ; such as their Creditors, their Relations and Friends, who were bound for them ; of infinite Numbers of Manufacturers, Merchants, and Traders employ'd by them ; and in short, exceeded in most Men's Opinion, any of those (hitherto esteemed) the severest of God's Judgments, War, Pestilence and Famine.

The Parliaments of *Sweden* (named there the Estates) were made subservient to the Execution of this inhuman Design ; which in their several Sessions between the Years 1680 and 1687, they brought to the Perfection 'twas then in ; and did withal so thoroughly rivet the Work of their own Enslaving, that all future Meetings of Parliament were rendred unnecessary. There is not henceforth any Occasion to make them so much as the Covers for Tyrannical Proceedings, or Screens between the King and the People. A fatal Document, how the very best Institutions (when perverted) are most capable of being employ'd to the Accomplishment of the worst Ends and the greatest Mischiefs.

It will be needless to enlarge upon the Particulars, and the Methods taken in this Reduction ; all the Books which have given any late Accounts of *Sweden*, being full of them ; only in short ; That after the War, King *Charles* the XIth. (Father of the present King) imputed the ill State the Kingdom was then in,

(viz. in the Year 1680.) to the foregoing evil Counsels of the Prime Noblemen, Senators, and Ministers ; and caused a select Committee out of each of the Three Estates, to meet and search the Registers (wherein every Senator sets his Hand to the Advice he gives,) and to compute the Damage proceeding, or supposed to proceed from every Advice ; according to which they took each Senator (in proportion) towards making it good ; which their whole Fortunes (that were hereupon taken from them) were found insufficient to make Satisfaction for ; there being no Rebate for any Sums which the Crown owed to them.

After some Time, a College of Reductions was Instituted, wherein all Donations of the Crown (for several past Generations) were reassumed without any further Enquiry.

And all Crown-Lands, tho' purchas'd from the Crown, which lay within six long Miles of any of the King's Castles.

As also all other Crown-Lands which were judged to have been Sold at an Under-Value ; And this Rated according to the present Improvement, not what they were first bought at. In this Case indeed the King allowed 5*l.* per Cent. to him that had paid down ready Money ; but if the Income had exceeded that Interest (as it commonly did after so long a Tract of Time) 8*l.* per Cent. was exacted for the Interest of the Overplus from the Day of the Purchase, which eat out the whole Estate,

and

and so the Lands infallibly returned to the Crown. Nay, it was a great Favour if the Crown accepted of the Estate for the supposed Debt, without charging any other Estate the Purchaser was possessed of, to make good the Deficiency.

At first about 700 *Guilders per Annum* was allowed to such poor Purchasers, as a Maintenance to them and their Families; but this was presently in another Session of Parliament taken from them, and given to the Crown.

Nothing but the most Arbitrary Government (supported by the Face of a Parliament, and a real Army in Time of a profound Peace,) could have subsisted after such an exorbitant Seizure of the Subjects Property. But the entire Subversion of Laws, has now (after 36 Years) silenced the Clamours of the Persons concern'd. Most of them are in their Graves, and their Children have forgot their Ancestors were ever Free Men. And if some of them remember it, 'tis to little or no Purpose; for these re-united Crown-Lands are now applied to the Maintenance of this constant Standing Army, wherein both Officers and Soldiers live upon the resumed Farms, and their Income passes not thro' the Hands of cheating Agents or Treasurers; so that their Subsistence comes in due Time to them Net, and without any Deductions; which makes Amends for the Smallness of it, and keeps the Officers at Home.

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At the Time when this Resumption and Reunion began in Old *Sweden*, *Livonia* was involved in the like Calamity, with the Addition of many other intolerable Oppressions and Exactions heaped upon the Inhabitants. Here, not only the Nobility and Gentry were reduc'd to Beggary, in order to put all the opulent Subjects upon the same Foot, but all Degrees of People were oppress'd without Distinction.

Livonia is a large and fertile Province on *Germany* Side of the *Baltick*; 'tis an Acquisition of *Sweden* at several Times, partly by Compact, and partly by Conquest (within somewhat more than the Compass of this last Century) from the *Poles* and *Muscovites*: These took it from the Knights of *Jerusalem*, who had long been Possessors of it; but (after those Knights were extirpated) could not keep it from the *Swedes*, who promised the Inhabitants better Usage than they had from their former Masters. A Promise seldom kept with any conquered Country; and never after the Mother Nation has lost its own Privileges.

The *Livonian* Nobility and Gentry had more to say for themselves than the *Swedes*; that Province being not bound by a *Swedish* Parliament, but having a Parliament of its own; and therefore (in hopes of some Ease and Relief) they sent a Deputation of select Members of their own Body to make their Remonstrances to the *Swedish* Court. These carried a Pathetick Memorial with them, setting forth the

the very great Hardships they laboured under; not without some oblique Reflections on what had been done, even in *Old Sweden*. Which Memorial was so strongly worded, and contained so many severe Truths, that it gave great Offence to the Projectors at *Stockholm*, and induced them to persuade the King to oblige those Principal Persons who had Signed it, either to make good the Allegations, or to answer for the Calumnies contained in it. The first of these was easy enough, had there been equal Judges to hear the Cause.

One of the chief of these Remonstrators, was *John Reynouldt Count Patkul*, a young Gentleman of an Ancient, Noble, and Rich Family: He had a Graceful Person, ready Wit, fine Address, and great Parts, improved by good Learning, and Knowledge of the World: But above all, was remarkable for being a true Lover of his Country's Liberties. This Gentleman, (together with some other Counsellors of State) was employed by the *Livonian Nobility* to draw up their Memorial; and the wording of it (which was as much approved by the *Livonians*, as condemned by the Court of *Sweden*), was supposed to have been the peculiar Work of his Brains and Pen. He therefore, (together with several others of the chief Persons concern'd) went to *Stockholm* by Order: Where he demeaned himself so extraordinarily handsomely, and withal courageously, that

1694, and
1695.

that King *Charles* the XIth, (though he disliked his Cause) was very much pleas'd with his Behaviour. He was very familiar with the King, who took so much Delight in his Manner of pleading for distressed *Livonia*, that when some of the King's Ministers argued against *Patkul* with more Warmth, perhaps, than Truth, the King gently clapp'd him on the Shoulder, saying, *Courage, Patkul; Behave thy self like a brave and honest Man in thy Country's Cause.* More than one Attempt was made to gain him to the Court Party ; but when they found he was inflexible, and that the Affection he had for his Country's Liberties, was predominant to all other Considerations, the Ministers began in good Earnest to study his Ruin ; and this good Disposition of the King's, was soon cooled by the Representations of the Projectors ; who told his Majesty their Scheme must be supported, whatever it cost, else he must want both Power and Money : That the Principal Opposers of it must be oppress'd in the severest Manner, to the End the Subjects might be convinced no Remonstrances should avail them in the least, and thereby be discouraged from any Attempts of like Nature for the future.

Patkul being a Man of great Foresight, was early aware of these Practices against him ; and finding that the Courtiers were resolved to proceed to the utmost Extremity, and that he was likely to be charged with Sedition, upon
Pre-

Pretence that he and his Companions could not fully justify (upon the Spot) all the Particulars contained in the Memorial, (when perhaps he had but too well justified it for the King's and Ministers Ends) he prudently and secretly withdrew ; not waiting for the Execution of the Sentence of Death, and Confiscation of Goods, which was pronounced against him, and Two or Three of his Associates ; for one of them, whose Name was *Schlippenbach*, was absolved, because he recanted his Part in the Memorial ; that is, he deserted his Brethren, and the Cause of his Country.

The King, though far from being in his own Temper a merciful Man, was yet convinced in his Conscience that he was egregiously in the Wrong, and would not put to Death those Two or Three which were in his Power, only doom'd them to perpetual Imprisonment. At the Time of his Death, (which hapned about *April, 1697* Two Years and an half after) his Confessor put him in mind of these worthy Sufferers ; and laid it home to him, that he ought to pardon them ; upon which he Signed an Instrument for their Release. He had been inexorable all his Life-time, not only to the Cries of his miserable abused Subjects, but to the continued Prayers and Tears of his incomparable Queen, who often, on her Knees, 'tis said, intreated him to shew Mercy to his poor People, and to restore them to their Estates

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and Privileges ; the like Request she made upon her Death-bed, to her Son, the Present King of *Sweden*, but with equal ill Success.

As to Count *Patkul*, 'tis confidently affirmed and believed by the *Swedes*, that King *Charles* the XIth himself, gave him Warning to retire in Time ; together with his Consent, that he might go and serve any other Prince he pleas'd, principally recommending to him the *Czar* of *Muscovy*. So glad was the King to be rid of so great an Obstacle to his Arbitrary Proceedings, and yet so loth to destroy unjustly, a Person of such rare Abilities and Honesty.

Being thus forced to quit *Sweden* and *Livonia* his Native Countrey, where he was Master of a very great Estate, (most of the Revenues of which, he found means to receive Abroad); he was exceedingly esteemed and carested in all the Foreign Courts where he took Shelter ; and employ'd by the several Princes, in their Wars and Negotiations, for both which he was very well qualified : But the greatest Use he made of his Interest, was to engage those Sovereigns to intercede for his Pardon, and his being restored to the Favour of the Court of *Sweden* : (For the present King *Charles* the XIIth, upon his Accession to the Crown, had pardoned most of the other *Livonian* Noble Prisoners, in a general Amnesty he published, yet excepted out of it Count *Patkul*, because he had fled :) But all they

they could do was to no Purpose ; the King remained obdurate as to *Patkul*. Some say, that Count *Piper*, his First Minister, was afraid of the great Genius and Abilities of *Patkul*, and inspired the King with these cruel Sentiments and Resolutions, in relation to him; as fearing that *Patkul*, if he were once pardoned, would soon become chief Favourite. The Young King having one Day in Discourse commended *Patkul*'s great Abilities, and said, *What a Pity 'tis that Patkul is not an honest Man? If he were, he wou'd make a Servant fit for the greatest Prince in the World:* These Words, which the King had let fall in *Piper*'s Hearing, alarm'd that jealous Minister so much, that he took Care to represent *Patkul*'s Actions always in the worst Light he could, and kept up the Resentments of a passionate young King to the Height, hindring the Effect of the Intercessions of the *Emperor*, and of almost all the Princes of *Christendom* in his Behalf, both before and after he came into King *Charles*'s Power.

Patkul hereupon transferr'd his Allegiance, and took Service with King *Augustus*, and the Czar of *Muscovy*, whose Ambassador he was to the King of *Poland*, at the Time when he was seized, and put in Prison by the latter. This Seizure had been desired and consented to, during the extravagant Mirth at an Entertainment in *Poland*, given to both Kings in the Time of an Interview, upon Insinuation that

he had made Mischief between them. For *Patkul's* Honesty and Integrity never left him ; he could not endure to see, (much less to be an Actor in) any Thing he thought mean and dishonourable, and often found Fault with what was amiss in their Dealings and Oeconomy ; and spoke his Mind so freely to these Princes, as to their little Regard to the Faith of Treaties, that he vexed them both. They neither of them liked his free Temper, though they had often made use of his Person, and his Money ; and thus at last were the Occasion of his Ruin and Death, which they neither of them intended. For when the Heat of their Passion was over, they were convinced they themselves were in Fault, not he ; and the Esteem they had for his Parts and Probity, took its own Place again with them ; but they repented when it was too late. King *Charles's* March into *Saxony* was sudden, and altogether unexpected ; and when he came thither, he soon became absolute Master of every Thing. He found *Patkul* in a Prison, where King *Augustus* had put him, rather with an Intent to humble him a little, than to ruin him ; but this King's Measures of every Kind were broken to Pieces.

Patkul had served as a Major-General, and a Lieutenant-General, in all those Wars ; but always desiring and endeavouring at a Reconciliation with *Sweden*, not by betraying any Trust reposed in him, but openly and honourably.

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rably. This (as has been said before) could by no means be effected. The King of *Sweden*, and his Ministers, were most obstinately bent against him ; no Prayers, no Money, no Humiliations, no Intercessions of the Greatest Potentates in *Europe*, could prevail over the interested Views of his Enemies, and the high Spirit and harsh Temper of the King.

Though he had been excepted out of the first general Pardon, yet upon the breaking out of the War, when the King published his *Avocatoria*, for all his Subjects to return out of Foreign Service ; *Patkul's* Enemies, (in order to Enhance his Crime) caused him to be Summoned by Name in these *Avocatoria* ; though at that Time apparently none of the King of *Sweden's* Subject ; and the *Swedish* Ministers knew he durst not, if he had ever so great an Inclination, return to *Sweden*, being already a Condemned Person, who wou'd have been executed as a Traytor, had he obey'd the *Avocatoria* : But they were resolved to make sure Work with him ; and upon his not appearing, got him a Second Time condemn'd to Death for his Contumacy.

What could a Gentleman of Honour do otherwise than Count *Patkul* did in his Circumstances ? He used all lawful Means to preserve his own and his Country's just Liberties ; he joined in dutiful Remonstrances, he pleaded in Person for them ; and when he saw these Methods were considered as capital Crimes, and

and that he was doom'd to dye for them, by the Advice of his King he withdrew into a Place of Safety. He enter'd indeed into the Service of Foreign Princes, who before that time had been at War with *Sweden*, and had promised him to restore *Livonia* to its ancient Freedom, tho' they could not accomplish it. But upon the present King of *Sweden's* Accession to the Crown, he had used all Endeavours (even by the Consent of those Princes) to be reconciled, tho' upon the hard Condition of acquiescing in what had been done against his Country. He ~~and~~ the World thought he had a Right to transfer his Allegiance, when his first Master would not afford him a Protection which he had not forfeited. Notwithstanding which, so great was his Inclination to be restored to the King of *Sweden's* Favour and Service, that he valued no Riches or Preferments elsewhere in comparison. He was unfortunate to the last Degree; for he might have come out of the Prison wherein he was confin'd, if he wou'd; but he scorned to do it before he had a Reparation of Honour. In the mean time the King of *Sweden* came, and nothing would serve this irritated Monarch, but poor *Patkul's* Life: The delivering of him up was made one of the Articles of the Treaty, tho' much contested by King *Augustus*; who alledged that it was a Violation of the Laws of Nations, *Patkul* being then the *Czar's* Plenipotentiary and Ambassador. But King

Charles

Charles protested he would not leave *Saxony* without him ; and accordingly he was put into the King of *Sweden's* Power on the 7th of *April*, 1707. From that Time to *Michaelmas* following he was kept in Custody of several Regiments, during the long March of that Gallant Army which the King of *Sweden* had gathered together in *Saxony* ; and then the King being advanced as far as *Casimir* in Great *Poland*, was resolv'd to make him a horrid Example of his Cruelty, (falsly call'd his Justice) and had him executed in a small Village upon the March, to the great Disgust of the Army, which could not forbear shewing its Dislike at so unusual and terrible a Spectacle. But you shall have a more particular Relation of the Manner of his Death, from the Chaplain who then assisted him ; after I have taken notice of what our *News-Papers*, and the *Swedish* Partisans themselves have said of this Affair.

In a Book call'd *The State of Europe, March 1707. p. 135.* you will find the following Accounts.

“ King *Augustus* has been obliged, by a lawless Necessity, to deliver up General *Patkul* to the *Swedes*, tho' he is very sensible that the *Laws of Nations* have been violated in this Case. That Gentleman was Envoy Extraordinary of the *Czar*, and in that Respect his Person ought to have been Sacred.
“ But

" But few Men are capable of containing
 " themselves within Bounds during their Pro-
 " sperity : The *Swedes* act as if they were
 " persuaded that Fortune will be always at
 " their Command. But as all Sublunary
 " Things are liable to Changes and Vicissi-
 " tudes, it may very well happen that they
 " will repent (some time or other) the ill Pre-
 " cedent they have made at this time ; and
 " (if I should live till then) I cou'd not but
 " bless the Divine Providence for it. Princes
 " are (after all) but creeping Worms before
 " the Almighty, and no less subject to the
 " Rules of Justice than the rest of Mortals.
 " But some think those *Rules were not made*
 " *for them* ; and their *Passion and Interest* are
 " the *only Guides of their Actions*.

Idem, p. 450. " Letters from *Poland* tell us,
 08. 1707. " That Lieutenant-General *Pat-*
 " *kul* was broke *alive* upon the
 " Wheel, and afterwards Beheaded and Quar-
 " tered, as a Rebel to his Sovereign, and the
 " chief Promoter of this War, &c.

Id. p. 31, 32, " The late General *Patkul* has
 33, 34. Vol. 19. " made so much Noise in the
 Jan. 1708. " World, and *his Death is so re-*
 " *markable*, that it will not be
 " amiss to give some Account of that Unfor-
 " tunate Man.

" We could wish it had been written by an
 " Impartial Hand : For one who appears so
 " *entirely* in the *Interest of Sweden*, may have
 " *dis-*

" *disguiz'd* the Truth in several Respects.
 " Whatever it be, 'tis certain that *Patkul* was
 " Born a Subject to the King of Sweden, and
 that he was put to death *as* a Rebel; but we
 do not design to examine here, how far it is
 lawful for a Man to *transfer* his *Allegiance*,
 nor whether or no the Practice of *most Na-*
tions in the *World*, as to that Point, has any
 reasonable Grounds. But I make bold to
 say, that whosoever will enquire into the
 Original Cause of *Societies* and *Politick Go-*
vernment, will be tempted to believe, that
 the *Severity used in this Case* is hardly to be
 justified before the *Tribunal* of *Sound Rea-*
son, and *Natural Equity*. The *Roman Ora-*
tor had a better Idea of the *Liberty* of *Man-*
kind, than our *Modern Politicians*; and af-
 firms, *That no Man ought to be constrain'd*
against his Will to remain in a Society, nor
to quit it unless he pleases.

But let us see what the *Swedes themselves*
 say of *Patkul*.

" *John Rheynouldt Patkul* was born in *Li-*
vonian, of a Noble and Honourable Family:
 His Parents took a great deal of Care to give
 him a good Education, to which Nature
 contributed very much; so that he learn'd
 the Sciences with a great deal of Ease. He
 was very virtuous during his Youth, and
 was blameable only for his Avarice. He tra-
 D "vell'd

“ vell’d much into Foreign Countries, and
 “ apply’d himself to acquire the Languages,
 “ and a considerable Knowledge in the Affairs
 “ of State; in which he succeeded very well.
 “ He was very pleasant in Conversation, and
 “ knew perfectly to give an Appearance of
 “ Truth to the greatest Falsities; but was im-
 “ patient of Contradiction. He began to raise
 “ his Fortune in *Livonia*, and was made first a
 “ Captain in 1695. He and Three other *Li-*
 “ *vonians*, as Counsellors of State, sent a Me-
 “ morial to King *Charles* the XIth, concerning
 “ the State of the Country, which was found
 “ to be of dangerous Consequence. Upon
 “ this they were sent for to *Stockholm*, to de-
 “ clare themselves more expressly upon it.
 “ They went thither accordingly. But *Patkul*
 “ perceiving that he cou’d not justify what was
 “ writ, and that he was likely to be charged
 “ with Sedition, retired privately, without
 “ staying for the Execution of the Sentence,
 “ by which he and his two Friends were con-
 “ demned to Death and Confiscation; but the
 “ Third, called *Schlippenbach*, was absolved,
 “ because he did not approve the above-men-
 “ tion’d Memorial, and was afterwards a
 “ Major-General in the *Swedish* Service.
 “ *Charles* the XIth, mixing Clemency with
 “ Justice, did not Execute the Sentence to the
 “ Rigor, and designed only to have kept
 “ them in perpetual Prison.

“ When *Charles* the XIIth, the present King, came to the Throne in 1697, he pardoned the rest at his Coronation, but excepted *Patkul* because he had fled; and having carry’d himself in such a manner as he durst not return to his Country, he went from one Court to another to solicit a War against his Native Country, and sought all Occasions to annoy it. At last he came to King *Augustus’s* Court in *Poland*, where he found most Credit, and by his smooth Tongue made him believe that it was easy to reduce *Livonia* under the Dominion of *Poland*; and so much the more, that there was no Troops to defend it, and that the Inhabitans were so disaffected, that they wanted only an Opportunity to shake off the *Swedish* Yoke. He added, that the King of *Sweden* had no Troops on foot, except a few Regiments in the Country, [or *Militia*] which being undisciplin’d, were not in a Condition to do any Service; that his Revenues were so much exhausted, as made the King unable to bring Armies into the Field, and much more to equip a sufficient Fleet to transport Troops into *Livonia*. By these and such like Arguments, he imposed upon King *Augustus*, who (as he has since declared) could never have believed the King of *Sweden* to have had so many, or so well disciplin’d Troops; or that his Subjects had been so loyal, or his Revenues so con-

“ fiderable, as to carry on the War in such a
 “ Manner, as he has since found he did.

“ *Patkul's* Representations prevailed so far,
 “ as to kindle a War between King *Augustus*
 “ and *Sweden*; and that Prince (following
 “ *Patkul's* Advice) sent some Thousands of
 “ *Saxons* into *Swedish Courland*, on Pre-
 “ tence of keeping those People in Obedience;
 “ but his true Design was, to make himself
 “ Master of *Livonia*. *Patkul* followed this
 “ Detachment, and was their Counsellor and
 “ Leader. A little after the Beginning of
 “ 1700, when all was in Peace, and the
 “ *Swedes* expected no such Thing, the
 “ *Saxons* fell into *Livonia*, and took the Forts
 “ of *Dunamund* and *Cobrots*; after which
 “ *Patkul* attacked *Riga*, the Capital Town of
 “ the Country, and its chief Defence; but
 “ miscarrying in his Design, he satisfied him-
 “ self to ravage the Country with his *Saxon*
 “ Troops, and advised those of *Livonia* to
 “ submit to King *Augustus*; alledging it was
 “ impossible for them to receive any Relief at
 “ that Season of the Year, promis'd them a
 “ mild Government under his Administration,
 “ and assured them of King *Augustus's* Pro-
 “ tection; and several other Things of that
 “ Nature. He wrote also to his Mother,
 “ who liv'd further up in the Country, sent
 “ for her to come to him, and pretended he
 “ had taken Arms for her Defence; but she
 “ abhorred

“ abhorred him so much, that she would not own him.

“ At the beginning of this War, the King of Sweden publish'd his *Avocatoria*, by which he ordered all his Subjects in King *Augustus's* Service (and *Patkul* by Name) to return to Sweden, on Pain of Death; *Mark, that he had before, at his Accession to the Crown, excepted him out of the general Pardon; though his Father, King Charles the XIth, had given him Leave to quit Sweden.*] “ But he continuing in his Rebellion and Disobedience, was a Second Time condemned to die. This made no Impression on him, so that he continued his Practices against his Country; and instead of endeavouring to recover his Prince's Favour, he persuaded King *Augustus* to Besiege *Riga* the Beginning of that Year; but he was obliged to raise the Siege again in few Weeks after he had begun it.

“ *Denmark* began at the same time to raise some Troubles in *Holstein*, which were soon after appeased. 'Tis needless to mention the Reasons of those Troubles, nor how they began, since these Things are well enough known, but only that *Patkul* continually endeavour'd to add Fewel to the Flames.

“ The *Czar* being persuaded by General *Patkul* to enter into a War against Sweden, raised a formidable Army to that End, and
“ push'd

" push'd on the War with Vigor, in Con-
 " junction with King *Augustus* ; and *Patkul*
 " not only commanded the *Saxon* Troops as
 " Major-General, in the Actions which pas-
 " sed in *Poland*, but went Journeys for the
 " *Czar*, and King *Augustus*, to advance their
 " Military Preparations ; having a perfect
 " Knowledge of the State of the King of
 " *Sweden's* Forces ; so that all Enterprizes he
 " judged necessary, were approved, and put
 " in Execution against his Country as far as
 " possible. When any Treaty of Accommo-
 " dation with *Sweden* was set on Foot, he
 " constantly opposed the same, and was the
 " Cause that the War in the *North* continued
 " so long. In *Saxony* he dispersed several
 " injurious Libels against his own Country.
 " In 1702, he enter'd into the *Czar's* Service,
 " because his Ambition and Avarice were insa-
 " tiable ; and the *Czar* granting him better
 " Terms, he left the Court of *Saxony*, with
 " which he could not agree.

" Being very fit for Negotiations, the *Czar*
 " sent him to several Courts of *Germany* to
 " Negotiate his Affairs ; and there he fur-
 " nished his Army with Foreign Officers, and
 " other Necessaries. After this he returned
 " to *Russia*, to give the *Czar* an Account of
 " his Success, and in a little Time the *Czar*
 " sent him as his Plenipotentiary to King
 " *Augustus*, where he also commanded the
 " Auxiliary Troops which were sent to that
 " Prince.

Con- Prince. In 1704, he was detached with
 Patkul some Thousands of Men to Besiege *Posen*,
 but was obliged by the *Swedes* to break up
 that Siege, and retired into *Saxony*, where
 he lost his Credit more and more, and em-
 broiled himself with that Court, by endea-
 vouring to create a Disunion betwixt King
Augustus and the *Czar*; and by upbraiding
 the *Saxons* with not observing their Trea-
 ties faithfully, nor pushing on the War
 with Vigor against *Sweden*; so that at
 last he enter'd into a Treaty with the Em-
 peror, and put the *Muscovite* Auxiliaries
 into his Service. Matters being thus, King
Augustus went to meet the *Czar* in *Lithu-*
ania, and being dissatisfied with *Patkul*,
 obtained the *Czar's* Consent to put him in
 Prison. Accordingly, he was sent to the
 Castle of *Sonnefeyn*; towards which, a cer-
 tain Paper contributed very much, which
Patkul had writ, about the Affairs and Go-
 vernment of *Saxony*, and reflected much
 upon King *Augustus* and his Ministry. His
 treacherous Temper appeared yet further
 by the following Instance. While he was
 Prisoner in the Castle of *Sonnefeyn*, he pre-
 vailed with the Governor to suffer him to
 make his Escape, on Condition of paying
 him a certain Sum, which the Governor
 agreed to: But *Patkul*, instead of making
 his Escape, gave an Account to the Court
 at *Dresden*, of the Governor's Treachery,
 though

“ though he had always been civil to him
 “ upon which the Governor lost his Head.

“ A little after , King *Augustus* order'd
 “ *Patkul* to be releas'd ; but he would not
 “ come out of Prison without a full Satisfac-
 “ tion for the Affront he pretended to have
 “ received ; and there he continued through
 “ his Pride, which was his predominant Pass-
 “ sion, the chief Cause of all his Misfortunes,
 “ and of his Ruin at last: Though he was o-
 “ therwise *capable of every Thing*, being well
 “ versed in the Affairs of State and War.
 “ After this he was transported to the Castle
 “ of *Coningsteyn* , and the *Swedes* entring
 “ *Saxony* , which brought on a Treaty be-
 “ twixt the King of *Sweden* and King *Augu-*
 “ *stus* ; one of the Articles was , that *Patkul*
 “ should be delivered to the King of *Sweden*.
 “ King *Augustus*, however, let some Months
 “ pass, before he would deliver him up ; al-
 “ ledging for Excuse, that he was in the
 “ *Czar's* Service : But the King of *Sweden*
 “ insisting upon it, he was at last put into the
 “ Hands of General *Meyerfeldt* , whose Regi-
 “ ment of *Swedes* lay nearest, and was carried
 “ into *Poland* with the Army; where he was
 “ always kept a Prisoner. The Day appointed
 “ for his Execution approaching , he was sent
 “ to the Regiment of Dragoons of *Hielm*, and
 “ a Priest was order'd to tell him in the
 “ Evening that he must prepare for Death.
 “ This surprized him at first, and occasion'd
 “ him

him to utter some Incoherent Discourse. But the Priest talk'd to him so, that he immediately laid aside all Thoughts of the World, and next Morning sent for the Priest, and receiving the Communion from him, said, he was well satisfied to die ; and that he expected his last Hour with Impatience. He slept very well the Night following ; and better, as was observed, than he had done at any Time after he had received his Sentence. [*He received no Sentence, till the Minute he was Broke alive.*] Next Day he was carried to the Place of Execution ; and endured with great Firmness of Mind, the Punishments which were inflicted upon him. Thus he was broke alive upon the Wheel, and his Head being cut off, was fix'd on a Pole ; his Body was Quarter'd, and laid upon Wheels on the 20th, [*it should be the 10th*] of October last, N. S. in a Village of Upper Poland, betwixt *Stupea* and *Casimir*. During his Imprisonment, he confess'd he had done many Things against his Country, and that he had very little Hopes of escaping Punishment. He made a considerable Present to the Priest who attended him to the Place of Execution ; he gave Money to the Executioner, that he might do his Office with all possible Speed, and not suffer him to languish long under his Pain.

E

Thus

Thus far the *Swedish* Narration ; which in many Places is notoriously false, in others very short, leaving out all the cruel Circumstances of his Death ; and by the whole Tenor of it, 'tis apparent, that the Writer was put to all the Shifts imaginable, to justify in some Measure the King of *Sweden's* Procedure. You may see, however, that *Patkul's* great and good Qualities were so many, that he is forced to own them all along in his whole Narration ; here you may believe him, whatever you do in any thing else : The whole Drift of his Paper being to dispraise him, and make him appear as black and unworthy as possible, that he might thereby alleviate that Load of Infamy which lay upon the King of *Sweden*, even in the Opinion of his own Army, and Subjects, for treating him in the manner he did.

In a late Book called, *The History of the Wars of Charles the XIIIth King of Sweden*, written, as 'tis pretended, by a *Scotch* Gentleman in that King's Army, very partially, with design to asperse the Guarantees of the Treaty of *Alt-Ranstadt*, and to extol the Actions of the K. of *Sweden* at any rate, in order to recommend him to the People of *Great-Britain*, you will find what follows.

“ There

“ There was at that Time in the
 “ King of *Poland*’s Troops, a *Livoni-*
 “ an Gentleman, a Subject of the K. of *Swe-*
 “ den, but who upon former Discontents had
 “ quitted the *Swedish* Interest, and was enter-
 “ tained by the K. of *Poland* in the Quality
 “ of a Major-General. It was said, this Gen-
 “ tleman had Liberty given him from the late
 “ K. of *Sweden*, *Charles* the XIth, to enter
 “ into the Service of the *Czar* of *Muscovy*, as
 “ a kind of Banishment for some Offence he
 “ had given the Crown of *Sweden*, in oppo-
 “ sing the King at the Time when the Act for
 “ Re-assumption of Crown-Lands was put in
 “ Execution by that Prince.

“ I confess that all the while I liv’d in *Swe-*
 “ den, I could never learn the true History of
 “ General *Patkul*’s quitting the Service of *Swe-*
 “ den. Perhaps it was generally concealed ;
 “ because they wou’d not seem to say that the
 “ King had not sufficient Provocation to the Se-
 “ verity which he used afterwards with this
 “ Gentleman when he fell into his Hands.

“ Be it as it will, it was generally believed
 “ in *Sweden* that this Gentleman was a great
 “ Instrument, I do not say, in first stirring up
 “ the K. of *Poland* to the Design of breaking
 “ with *Sweden*, for it was apparent that had
 “ other Causes and Springs ; but in giving that
 “ King Encouragement to the particular Inva-
 “ sion of *Livonia* ; and that he persuaded the
 “ King to believe, that the Nobility of *Livo-*
 “ nia,

"nia, having been miserably spoiled of their
 "Estates, and impoverished by the said Re-
 "assumption of Crown-Lands, were generally
 "Malecontents like himself, and would revolt
 "to the Poles, as soon as they saw an Army
 "sufficient to defend them. This, I say, was
 "generally reported and believed. Certain it is
 "that General *Patkul* accompanied the Saxons
 "General *Flemming* in the first Expedition
 "against *Riga*, and was sent out with a Detach-
 "ment of 1500 Horse and Dragoons, to
 "range over the open Country, and give the
 "Livonian Nobility an Occasion to revolt, if
 "they were so inclined; and no doubt, was
 "diligent to persuade them to do so, though
 "without Effect.

"King of Sweden's Demands on
 Pag. 245. "King of Poland at *Alt-Ranstadt*.

"All Deserters and Traytors of the
 Art. 5. "King of Sweden's Subjects, and par-
 "ticularly *Reinholdt Count Patkul*, shall be
 "delivered to the King of Sweden.

"It must be confessed, some of the
 Pag. 246. "Conditions were very Grievous upon
 "on King *Augustus*, and such as nothing but
 "the Miseries of his Saxon Dominions could
 "have extorted, but above all, the delivering
 "up Count *Patkul*, which (it is owned) to
 "Man of Honour was very severe.

"The King of Sweden, who had
 Pag. 251, "as much Generosity in his Temper
 252, "as Fire in his Resolution, yielded

in some Points to King *Augustus*; but as to the Affair of Count *Patkul*, the King of *Sweden* would abate nothing, declaring he would never quit *Saxony* without him; nor could the Intercession of any of the *Saxon* Court, or of some Princes who concerned themselves for that unfortunate Gentleman, prevail with the King to desist from the Demand, or to spare him when he had him in Custody. He was accordingly delivered to the King of *Sweden* the 7th of *April*, 1707.

“ We were now entred into *Poland*,
 and the first Thing of Moment that
 happen'd in our Army was the Execution of
 General Count *Patkul*: The King had so
 highly resented his Conduct in the begin-
 ning of the *War*, looking upon him to have
 been the principal Mover of the Invasion of
Livonia by King *Augustus*, that no Inter-
 cession could obtain his Pardon; and being
 his *Swedish* Majesty's Subject, the King
 thought it proper to shew that Severity to
 him, to let all those who, being Subjects
 of *Sweden*, shou'd fight against their Master,
 know what they might depend upon. He
 was broke upon the Wheel at *Casimir* in
Great Poland, the 10th of *October*, N. S.
 1707. I need not enter farther into the
 Story; the Justice of provoked Kings is not
 Always to be censured or Examined into.
 Much might be said on both Sides. —
 I acknowledge, many honest Gentlemen in
 “ the

" the King's Army, would have been very
 " glad if his Majesty would have been pleased
 " to have extended his Mercy to that unfor-
 " tunate Gentleman ; but it *could not be ob-*
 " *tained* ; and *we had no more to do but to*
 " *submit*. I observed, the Army was very me-
 " lancholy during this Execution. *No Body*
 " *took pleasure in it* ; nor can I say that we
 " had the usual *Cheerfulness* among us for
 " *some time afterwards* ; but the King had
 " great Provocations. And by how much the
 " *Genius and Capacities of this Person were*
 " *extraordinary* ; and that these had carried
 " him an unusual Length, (for he was *sup-*
 " *posed* to have been the great Manager in
 " forming the first Alliances against the King,)
 " by so much greater was his Offence ; which
 " his Majesty thought obliged him to the high-
 " est Resentment, and that he ought to be
 " treated as a Rebel to his Natural Prince, and
 " as a *Traytor* to his *Country*, &c.

This is all this Author speaks of *Patkul*.
 And as much as he is bent to make the Pane-
 gyrick of the King of *Sweden*, one may per-
 ceive in it the Force of Truth, which bursts
 out in his Narration, and that even he, as well
 as the whole *Swedish* Army, could not endure
 or palliate the excessive Cruelty of his *Hero*.
 'Twas a pity, that brave Army, which thus
 openly shew'd a Dislike of their Implacable Ab-
 solute Monarch's Proceedings, notwithstanding
 the

the just Dread they had of him, should from this Time forward suffer for the enormous Iniquity of their King : For that brave Army was soon after totally destroy'd at the Battel of *Pultowa* ; the very Remains of it that escaped with the King into *Turkey*, being since that Time, one way or other, extirpated. As if God Almighty had a mind to shew the World, that the very bearing with the Cruelty of their King, was a Sin not to be expiated, but by their bodily Punishment : And as to their King, I am perswaded his Life was continued to him rather as a Judgment, in being forced to receive so many sensible Mortifications, than as a Blessing : Since from that Day to this, he has never prosper'd ; and he does not yet make use of the Time allotted him for Repentance ; but hardens his Heart like *Pharaoh*, the more, for every Affliction which falls upon him.

A True



A True Relation of the Death, and Manner of Execution of the Famous JOHN RHEINHOLDT Count PATKUL.

IN the Year 1707, the 28th of Sept. O. S. about Night-fall, *Patkul* was brought to the Regiment of Dragoons commanded by Colonel *Nicholas Hielms* (then in Great Poland upon the March) under the Guard of Thirty Men of *Meyerfeldt's* Regiment, wherein he had continued a Prisoner during several Months before. The Day following, being *Michaelmas-Day*, my Colonel told me privately (as soon as our Devotions in the Church were over) That *Patkul* was to die next Day, and therefore desired I would go and acquaint the Prisoner with this News, that he might prepare himself for Death. Accordingly I went to him about Three a-Clock that Afternoon, and having made my Compliments to Mr. *Patkul* whom I found a-bed; I begg'd his Excuse for my Visit, because I supposed that an afflicted Spirit, like his, had great Need of some Consolation drawn from the Word of God. To which he answer'd, I am extremely glad Mr. *Le Pasteur*, that you come to see me, and thank you with all my Heart; for at present the Visits of Divines are most proper and agreeable.

ble to me. Pray, what News? I reply'd, that I desired to speak a few Words with him in private. As soon as he heard that, he got up, and made a Compliment to the Officer, who guarded him in his Chamber, and with a gentle Nod of the Head desired his Absence; which I also seconded, by whispering the said Officer in the Ear, and acquainting him with the Colonel's Orders that I shou'd be alone with the Prisoner. As soon as the Officer had left the Room, *Patkul* took me by the Hand, and with a very melancholy Tone of Voice, Alas (said he) my Dear Monsieur *Le Pasteur*, what have you to say to me? Sir, reply'd I, I am commanded to bring you the same Tidings, which the Prophet *Isaiab* formerly carried to King *Hezekiab*, *Set thy House in Order, for thou must die, and not live To-morrow*. At these Words he flung himself upon the Bed, and burst into Tears, which ran plentifully down his Cheeks. I began then to comfort him, by telling him, That I doubted not a Person so Wise and so Learned as he was, being withal so well instructed in the Christian Religion, wou'd upon those Accounts, now look upon the End of his Days in this World with the greater Courage and constancy. Alas! says he, I know very well, the common Lot of all Mankind is to die; but the Manner of my Death will be too severe, and too hard for me to endure: And upon this he began again to weep bitterly. I reply'd, That I was altogether unacquainted

F

with

with the Manor of his Death ; but did firmly believe that it wou'd be happy, and much more salutary to the Soul, than terrible to the Body. At this he rose, and joining his Hands, he said, *Grant, O Lord Jesus, that my End may be happy!* After having leaned against the Wall a-while, he went on, *O Augustus! Augustus! How wilt thou answer this at the Great Day?* *Alas! the Revolution in Sweden and Livonia has been the Source of my Misfortune.* I begg'd of him then not to apply himself so much to worldly Affairs, but to think upon Eternity, during the small Time which remain'd for him to live. My Dear Monsieur *Le Pasteur*, reply'd he, suffer me to vent what lies next my Heart ; for this Heart of mine cannot be cured, except all the Filth it is so full of be purged away. The Reducing of the Estates, which has been the undoing of Multitudes of poor People, has been the Occasion of the only Crime which is imputed to me. The deceas'd King of *Sweden*, clapping me upon the Shoulder, said to me ; *Patkul, Defend the Rights of thy Country, like a Brave and Honest Man:* How then cou'd I do otherwise ? But wicked Men have had the Shuffling of my Cards. God forgive *Hastoer*, who has contributed so much to my Misfortunes : At first he instigated me, afterwards he deceived me, and at last he persecuted me. Well ! Well ! I shall meet him shortly, with many more of my Adversaries, before the Tribunal of Jesus Christ.

Bergen.

Bergeubeilm has also been very much my Enemy, but he had Orders to do what he has done. O *Sweden ! Sweden !* God Almighty knows, that I did not quit thy Territories with a glad Heart : Whither could I fly ? It was not possible for me to hide my self under Ground : I cou'd not resolve to throw my self into a Convent, because of my being a Protestant ; and I cou'd not remain in Safety with any of the Allies. They say, that because I took Sanctuary among the King's Enemies, therefore I was the Occasion of this bloody War : But how can they draw that Consequence ? I was there in the Condition of a poor persecuted Man, and not at all a Giver of Advice ; no body judg'd me at that Time capable of doing it, and in truth I was not. For before I came among the *Saxons*, every Thing was already concerted with *Denmark* : The Treaties with the *Muscovites* were signed, and I had not in the least any Authority or Reputation — Then I desired him to remember, that he plunged himself too deep in Discourses, which regarded only Temporal Affairs. But he taking me by the Hand, said, — Allow me a little Time before I quite abandon worldly Things ; after that, I assure you, I will not speak one Word more of them. What Countryman are you, Monsieur *Le Pasteur* ? I am a *Swede*, born at *Stockholm*, reply'd I. Well then (said he) you please me the better for being so, because I am glad that a *Swede* may give a Report of me hereafter. I also have

a *Swedish* Heart, and *Swedish* Inclinations ; and altho' People will not believe it, God Almighty knows it's true, and you will be convinced of it by what I am going to say to you. The miserable Condition wherein you now see me, shall not hinder me from assuring you, that the Elector of *Brandenburg* is obliged to me for the Crown of *Prussia*. I am sure he is in his Conscience convinced of this: And indeed he offer'd me a very great Sum of Money, as a Recompence ; but I made answer to him, That the greatest Recompence he could bestow upon me for all my Services, wou'd be for his Majesty to grant me his Intercession, that I might be reinstated in the Favour of his *Swedish* Majesty ; which he also promised me, and Count *Dohna* spoke in my Favour at *Stockholm* as much as he cou'd ; but the Court of *Sweden* was deaf to all the Representations of that Envoy, which any way regarded me. Some time after (I may tell you without Vanity) I had an Opportunity of doing the late *Emperor* a signal Piece of Service, in relation to *Spanish* Affairs, such as no other cou'd have done for him ; and he gave me by way of Recompence, a Bill for Fifty thousand Crowns ; but I took it and laid it at his Imperial Majesty's Feet, thanking him with the most profound Devotion, and requesting another kind of Paper from him. The *Emperor* thought I had not been content with the Sum. But I told him, that I desired nothing but his Recommendation to the Court of *Sweden*. You shall have

and have it, replied the Emperor ; and indeed I know that he both writ, and sent such a Letter of Recommendation ; but in vain ; there was no Grace or Pardon to be had for me.

That no Occasion might be let slip to set me right with the Court of *Sweden*, I went to *Muscovy* when your Envoys were there ; without doubt you have heard of it. Yes, Sir, replied I, I had the Honour to be the Chaplain to that Embassy, and remember to have seen you there at that Time. Are you the same Person who was there ? (said he.) I thought indeed at first, I had seen you somewhere ; I was there at that time seeking the *Czar's* Mediation to be restored to Favour ; but as soon as I understood that your Envoys had Orders to demand the Delivery of my Person up to them, I was obliged to retire, and to live *Incognito*. Ever since it has been given out that I stirr'd up the *Czar*, and incited him to that War ; but it was *Carlowitz*, a Creature of King *Augustus*, that did that Piece of Work ; and for my Part, I was always an Advocate of Peace : And I had contrived Matters during the first Years of that War, that the King of *Sweden* should have for his Satisfaction *Courland*, *Polish Livonia*, and a part of *Samogitia*, in case he would make Peace. It was generally thought the *Czar* would never consent to these Terms ; but when I made him the Proposal, he was satisfied with it,

it, and embracing me, gave me Thanks for my good Advice: But the King of *Sweden* would not comply with those Offers. Moreover, all the poor *Swedish* Prisoners, (whereof there are great Numbers in *Muscovy*,) will, I dare say, give this Testimony of me, that I have done them a great many Kindnesses, and distributed among them in Charity, several Thousands of *Ducats*. I can safely aver, I have given away about a Hundred Thousand *Ducats*, in order to regain the King of *Sweden*'s Favour: *Would to God, I had been as solicitous to procure for my self the Divine Favour.* Having said these Words, he began again to weep, and I did my best to comfort him, by assuring him that the Gate of Divine Mercy was still open for him; that he had yet Time enough left to secure for himself an Entrance there; but that Time was precious and not to be flung away. That is my only Consolation, says he; but what troubles me most is, that I have more diligently served Men, than my God. Particularly, I have Reason to curse the Time wherein I applied myself to King *Augustus*'s Service. God Almighty convert him; he is neither faithful to God, nor Man. As soon as the Peace with *Sweden* was concluded, he writ me a Letter, dated the 16th of *February*, desiring me to acquaint the *Czar*, that the *Swedes* had distributed their Arms up and down into Workmens Hands, in order to get them mended; and that their Officers

were

were most of them sent abroad, partly to raise recruits, and partly for other Affairs; therefore that the *Czar* would do well to come immediately with all his Forces, and break the Necks of his Enemies: And to this End he would give Orders to all the Gunsmiths and Workmen, not to finish any Piece of Work the *Swedes* should employ them in.

In my Answer to this Letter, I told him, I would have nothing to do in an Affair of this Nature, nor any more with him; and that he ought to keep better the Faith he had lately given. This he took very ill from me; notwithstanding which, he has several times since solicited me to concur in his wicked Designs; but I always disapproved them. One Day I received a Letter, wherein he communicated to me a Project of a very extraordinary Nature; which Letter ended with these Words, — *In this manner, one may say, that Augustus has gained more in one Night, than Charles has by so many bloody battles, &c.* 'Tis with Horror that I call to mind all these Villanous Tricks; and I hear-ly thank God that he has protected the King of *Sweden*, who, I can assure you, has very often been in extraordinary great Dangers. Great God! said I, interrupting him, Has King *Augustus* no more regard to his Word? Was! replied he to me, he is a profess'd Atheist, a Man without Piety; who values neither his Faith nor his Honour. One Day
the

the late Emperor writ me a Letter, desiring me to do my Endeavour, after the handsomest way that I could, to persuade that King to amend his Life. I show'd him that Letter, but the Answer he gave me, laughing, was this; *That old Fellow had better employ his Thoughts upon Purgatory, for he will come to that Place before me.* Her Highness, the Electress Dowager, often spoke to me to the like Effect; and indeed, I employ'd my best Skill to that Purpose; but thereby always drew Disgraces upon my self; he has threatened me long since, that he would be even with me one Day. He was in a great Streight at *Warsaw* for want of Money, at the time when the King of *Sweden* came thither from *Lemberg*; several of his Troops being about to desert him for that Reason: At that time he earnestly desired me for God's sake to furnish him with some Money: I did so, and gave him Four Hundred Thousand Crowns; but next Day I perceived that he had laid it out in magnificent Presents to certain great Ladies, and had bought 150,000 Crowns Worth of Jewels to make a Hatband of. Being heartily vex'd to see him employ his Money to so bad Purposes, I made my Remonstrances to him upon that Head, and obliged him to restore those Jewels to the *Jews*, and take back his Money. For a little while he hid his Spite against me for doing this; but swore to be revenged on me, and has made good his Oath

too well, for my Misfortune. Wou'd to God he had as punctually kept the good Promises he has made, and his Faith and Honour. God Almighty will judge him. *Potentes potenter punientur*. But, Monsieur *le Pasteur*, continued he, you have, I believe, something else to do at present, and not to hear these disagreeable Discourses. Sir, said I, I will return to you about a short Hour hence. Do so, says he, and if you can prevail with the Colonel to suffer me to be alone, that I might not be interrupted in my Devotions, he will do me a singular Kindness. I promis'd him to do my best, and so took my Leave. About 7 a Clock at Night I return'd; and as soon as the Officer was gone out of the Chamber; Welcome, said he, Mr. *Le Pasteur*, with a smiling Countenance, which denoted somewhat of Contentment, I look upon you as an Angel of God. God be praised, I find my Conscience very much eas'd, and methinks it is as if a great and a heavy Stone were removed from off my Breast. I am very glad to dye, for 'tis better to dye than to remain long time in Prison. Alas! That my Death may be such as may be tolerable! Know you not, continued he, what Kind of Death I am to suffer? 'Tis what I am altogether ignorant of, replied I; all that I know is, that it will be done without much Noise and Stir, for nobody has as yet seen the Sentence. Must I

G

then

then suffer Death, said he, without being so much as heard, and without a Sentence? The Sentence is without doubt ready at Hand, reply'd I; but perhaps 'tis sealed up, and sent with Orders not to open it, till such Time as it comes to be executed. That may be, said he, but pray God they may not torment me a long time. I comforted him in the best Manner I could, and he cheer'd up himself, repeating among many other Passages of the Holy Scripture (whereof he had great Knowledge) these two Texts in Greek, *Acts 14. 22. Through great Tribulations we must enter into the Kingdom of God. And Romans, Chap. 8. ver. 18. For I reckon that the Sufferings of this present time are not to be put in Balance with the Glory which shall be revealed in us* —. After this he asked me, whether he might have Paper and Ink; and when I told him, Yes; he desired me to write a few Words for him, and dictated to me that which follows. *The last Will and Testament of Me the Underwritten, after what manner I intend to dispose of what I may leave behind me after my Death. I desire that King Augustus would consult his own Conscience, and restore to my two Cousins, who are now in the Service of Sweden, those Sums of Money which he owes to me, and which amount to Fifty Thousand Crowns; and I desire that his Swedish Majesty would most graciously grant his Assistance towards the Execution of this my Will.*

Will ——. Let us leave off this Business at present, says he ; I shall soon recollect some other Things to add to it ; but in the mean time let us return to our Devotions ; which we did , and as soon as Prayers were over ; *Thank God*, says he, *I find my self grow better and better. Ob ! If they wou'd not make me suffer long Torments ! I wou'd willingly satisfy with my Blood for the Faults which I may have committed.* Pray tell me ; is the King a Merciful Prince ? Yes ; reply'd the good God has favoured us with a very gracious and Pious King. That is the principal Thing, says he ; Piety is the Fountain of all other Virtues ; and , as the Prophet says, *is the beginning of Wisdom.* And what think you of Count *Piper*, the first Minister, continued he ; Is he a Nobleman fearing God ? I affirmed that he was, and that his Excellency had already given a Thousand Proofs of his probity. *Well then*, said he, *God be praised, they will then do nothing to me but what is just. Happy is that Kingdom which is governed by Piety and Justice.* After this he asked me several Questions concerning *Sweden*, of our Universities, of our Learned Men and Divines ; particularly concerning Doctor *Meyer*, also of the Professor *Frank*, and Dr. *Brethault* at *Halle* ; asking me at the same Time, what my Opinion was of the *Pietists*, and where I had made my Studies ? And at last con-

G 2

cluded

cluded, (venting Two or Three deep Sighs)
Yes ! yes ! I have some Friends here and there,
who will lament me , and weep for my Death.
 What will the good Old Electress say to it ?
 And *Mademoiselle Lerwold*, who is in her Ser-
 vice ? And principally my poor betrothed
 Spouse ? With what sad Affliction must she
 needs receive the News of my Death ? My
 Dear *Pasteur*, (continued he , pressing my
 Hand,) may I desire a Kindness of you ? Any
 Thing that is within the Compass of my Power
 for your Service, I will do with all my Heart,
 Sir, replied I. Be so good then as to write
 a few Lines to my Dear Spouse, *Madam*
Einfideln, when I shall be no more in this
 World ; and tell her, (in presenting her with
 my last Compliments) that altho' the End of
 my Life was Ignominious, in respect to my
 Bodily Punishment, yet it was very happy in
 respect to my Soul, as I verily hope and trust
 in my God. This will comfort her, at least
 in some small Measure ; especially when she
 shall see that this Consolation comes from the
 Person who assisted me in the last Moments of
 my Life : She will be henceforth free and at
 liberty to dispose of her self ; and I own my
 self to have been infinitely obliged to her even
 to my Death——. After this he drew out
 his Purse, and took out a Sum of Money
 which he put into three different Papers, and
 saying, *To-Morrow, if it please God, I will*
think

think no more of Worldly Things, he presented me with one of those Papers, which contained a Hundred Ducats, desiring me to accept of it. And upon my making a Difficulty to take a Thing which I had never deserved; My dear *Pasteur*, says he, I have often given a Thousand Ducats for very small Services; but the Friendship you have shewn me, and the good you have done me, cannot be recompenced by all the Treasures in this World. Would to God I were in a Condition to shew you more effectually the Sense I have of the Kindness you have done me. But I have yet one Present which I make you, that I esteem above all other Riches, and that is my New Testament in *Greek*, with the Version of *Arius Montanus*, which has been my faithful Companion in all my Misery. Major *Grootbuisen*, who has it now in his Possession, will give it you, when you ask it of him in my Name. I return'd him my Thanks, promising to keep that Treasure very carefully. Afterwards he pray'd me to salute Monsieur *de Grootbuisen* in his Name, and to thank him a Thousand Times for the great Civilities he had shewn him during his last Calamity. After this he drew out of his Pocket another small Book: This Book, Mr. *Le Pasteur*, says he, is one that I have written with my own Hand; pray accept of it also, as a Remembrance of me, and a Proof of my Christianity; I should be very glad, this little Book, which in it self is of no great Value,

were

were shewn to the King ; his Majesty would at least find by it that I was no Atheist. I hope, reply'd I, that what you desire may be accomplish'd, for I will put it into my Colonel's Hands, who may find a proper Occasion to lay it before his Majesty. That would be very well, said he, and I wish that my Book may be more happy than its Author ; I may say to it what *Ovid* did in his Exile, to his Book *de Tristibus*, when he sent it to *Augustus* *Go thy Ways, little Book, and procure that Favour which I have not been able to obtain for my self* : Pray read it, Monsieur *Le Pasteur*, which I presently set about doing ; and I observ'd in my reading it that he had it all by Heart : Afterwards he made me read some Prayers, and several devout Hymns of Death and from thence he took occasion to discourse of the Vanity of this World. Alas ! said he God is my Witness, that in the midst of Worldly Pleasures my Heart has been always sad And at this Time, tho' I know that I must dye To-Morrow, I find my self much more content than I have formerly been at the most magnificent Entertainment. *Munde, Munde, Vale ! World, World, Farewell !* Assure yourself, Mr. *Le Pasteur*, that very often, and principally in the later Years of my Life, I have endeavour'd entirely to put off this World ; but I found it impossible for me to execute this Design. Thanks to *Jesus*, who

has at length torn in Pieces for me the Nets of Satan, my Chains are broken, and my Soul is at Liberty. The Hand of the great *Charles* has contributed much to my Enlargement. God be praised! 'Tis a great Truth what *St. Paul* says in his 8th to the *Romans*; *We know that all things work together for good to those who love God.* And now it beginning to grow late, *Monfieur Le Pasteur*, says he, I keep you here too long with me; I beg of you not to be tired of me. As soon as I had assured him of the contrary, we went again to Prayers; and when we had done, What Counsel, says he, do you give me? Ought I to take a little Rest? 'Tis long since I have slept, and I find my self very weary and weak; for besides that I have not Eat nor Drank to Day, except a little Water. And I could not do otherwise than approve of such a Resolution. Perhaps by doing so, continued he, my Spirits may revive a little; for it will be very necessary, that I should be well disposed To-morrow Morning, because then I hope to comfort my poor Soul by receiving the holy Communion. When we had pitched upon an Hour for this Holy Deed, he went to Bed, and I retired to my Quarters. The 30th of *September*, at 4 a Clock in the Morning, I return'd to him; and as soon as he heard me salute him, as I enter'd his Chamber, he rose out of Bed, and gave Thanks to God for having afforded him so good a Night;

Night; saying, That he had not of a long time rested so quietly. Presently we went to Prayers; and I must needs own, the Fervour of his Devotion was extraordinary. About 6 a Clock, he said; We will in the Name of *Jesus* execute now our Holy Design, before the Noise which they are making without Doors increases; and as I approved of his Intention, he fell upon his Knees, and made his Confession in most devout Words, the beginning whereof was remarkable: *What shall I say, O God, my Lord? How shall I speak, or presume to justify my self before thee? God has found out the Iniquity of his Servant. Pardon it, O Lord God, &c.* After having received the holy Sacrament, he heartily returned Thanks to God in several Pious Hymns which we recited together. At the Rising of the Sun, he look'd out of the Window, and said *Salve festa Dies*; thou art my Wedding-Day. I once thought, that about this Season I should be celebrating another sort of Wedding-Day. But this is the more happy of the Two; for this Day my Soul shall be introduced into Heaven by its Spouse our Lord *Jesus Christ*. Then he asked me once again, Whether I did not know what sort of Death was appointed him to dye. And when I had answered him in the same manner as I had done the Day before, he begg'd of me not to abandon him at his Death, let it be as cruel as it can be.

Only

Only, said he, pronounce aloud to me always the Name of *Jesus Christ* ; that will sweeten all my Pains, and all my Torments. Then looking once again out of the Window : Alas ! says he, Monsieur *Le Pasteur*, they are putting the Horses to the Chariot ; God be praised for it : I only desire they should make haste, for my Life already seems too long to me. Presently he cast his Eyes upon the Paper, where he had begun to write his Will : This Paper, says he, will not be compleat. And when I asked him, Whether he would not be pleased to set his Name to it as it was : No, said he, nothing, I will no more write this hateful Name of mine : My Cousins will find another sufficient Estate which I have left to them. Pray soon as you see them, remember me kindly to them. After this he continued in his Devotions till the Lieutenant of his Guard came to carry him away. Here Sir, said I, is the Confirmation of those sad News I first brought you. Come then ; let us be gone, said he, taking his Cloak ; I hope at least, Mr. *Le Pasteur*, you will accompany me. O, do not abandon me ! And when I had promised him that I would not, he went up into the Chariot, and obliged me to take the upper End. Thus we went on a very great Pace, guarded by a hundred Horse ; and during all the Way he embraced and Kiss'd me ; begging of me not to forget to pay his last Compliments for him

H

to

to his dear Mistress his Spouse ; and thanking me for my Company. Soon after, we arrived at the Place of Execution, which was surrounded by about Three Hundred Foot Soldiers. As soon as he had observed the Posts or Pales, and the Wheels which were Erected there, he was extremely frightned at them : And embracing me very straitly, Alas Monsieur *Le Pasteur*, said he, pray to God for me, that he may not suffer me to fall into Despair. I comforted him in the best Manner I was able, desiring him continually to fix his Thoughts upon Christ crucified. After this they took him out of the Chariot, and while they were taking off his Chains, he prayed most ardently. As soon as he was come to the Spot, where he was to be executed, the Captain of the Regiment, who that Day officiated as Major, proclaimed with a loud Voice : “ His Majesty, our most Gracious King, has expressly commanded, *most rigorously*, that this Man, who is a Traytor, should be first Broken upon the Wheel, and afterwards Quarter’d as well for his just Punishment, as to serve for an Example to others, that every one may hereafter serve his King faithfully.” At the Word *Traytor*, *Patkul* shrugg’d up his Shoulders, and look’d up to Heaven ; and afterwards ask’d, Where will you have me to go ? And as soon as the Executioner had shew’d him the Place, do your Office, Friend, says he

and at the same Time gave him a Paper full of Money ; then laid himself flat ; and whilst they were taking off his Cloaths, he cried out to me ; *Oh, pray to God, that it may please him to fortify me in this dismal Hour* : Whereupon addressing my self to all the Spectators ; Beloved Children, said I, let us pray with Ferour and Attention for this poor Man. *Alas !* *Yes !* said he , *pray all for me* ; which we did unanimously, and with abundance of Devotion. And at that Time , the Hangman giving him the first Stroke, he cried out aloud, *O Jesus ! Jesu ! have Pity upon me*. After this he received more than Fourteen or Fifteen Strokes ; and because the Hangman was but indifferent-skill'd in his Cruel Trade, he was indeed most terribly tormented, and cried out most piteously, pronouncing without ceasing, the Holy Name of Jesus ; *Lord Jesus, I commit and resign my Soul into thy Hands, &c.* After having received Two Blows more upon the breast, he left off crying aloud, only speaking a few low and interrupted Words, *Cut off my Head, cut off my Head* : And as he found that the Hangman made no sufficient Haste to do it, he crept upon all Four himself, as far as to the Pale, and laid his own Neck over it ; where, after Four Blows, he was at last Beheaded, and his Body was put on the Wheels, there to remain.

Such was the End of the famous *Patkul*,
 Lord Jesus, who art come into the World to
 save all Sinners, have Mercy upon his poor
 Soul.

WHoever is acquainted with the Dexterity
 of the common Executioners in *Germany*,
 and in all those *Northern* Countries, (which in-
 deed is very surprizing,) and knows that one
 found Blow on the Breast, called the *Coup de*
Grace, presently dispatches a Criminal that is
 broke upon the Wheel, will easily be convinced
 that the cruel Treatment poor *Patkul* met
 with, as well in the Breaking his Body, as
 afterwards in cutting off his Head, was in-
 flicted by particular Order. The Officer who
 proclaimed his Sentence just before his Death,
 seems to own it, and to make a Sort of
 Excuse for it, as being *the King's most rigo-*
rous Command. And indeed, an Executioner
 is so detestable and infamous a Creature in
Sweden, *Denmark*, and all those *Northern*
 Parts of the World, that it requires an extra-
 ordinary Dexterity in that hateful Trade,
 and an immediate imperceptible withdrawing,
 to save him from the unreasonable Rage of
 the Spectators upon those Occasions. And the
 Parson who assisted at this Execution, and ap-
 pears all along to have been a good *Levite*,
 does

does insinuate the same Thing, as far as he dare ; for you must consider him to have been a Native *Swede*, and Chaplain to one of the King's Regiments. But — *so let him die*, (said one of the most cruel of the *Roman Tyrants*) *ut se sentiat mori* : And if ever any Man felt himself die by Degrees, in the most exquisite Torments, it was poor *Patkul*. He was all along apprehensive of this, as you may plainly see by this Priest's Relation, knowing so well the Temper of the King of *Sweden*, not to dread a remarkable Instance of it in his own Case. And indeed, we find the miserable Man was not at all deceived in his Expectation.

How would an *English* Crowd of Spectators, which now can hardly bear the quartering of a dead Human Body) behave its self upon the occasion of such an Execution as this ? At first, indeed, it would allarm and terribly shock it. But after a little Time, I doubt, Cruelty, as well as Slavery, would grow so habitual, as to become indifferent, if not a Pastime, as it now is in those Countries where Bigottry reigns, and where the Inquisition frequently triumphs over the State, in a Solemn Act of Faith, (*Auto da Fe*) by which Name the Ecclesiasticks, who preside at those detestable Religious Murders, have sanctified the most horrid and causeless

less Cruelties that ever were invented by Mankind.

Tantum Religio potuit.

When will the World recover its Wits ?

Thus died *Patkul*, universally lamented. He was, as to his Person, rather Tall than otherwise, somewhat inclining to be gross and fat, of a middle Age at the Time of his Death ; of a fair Complexion, but no very promising Countenance, which seemed heavy and dull. Those who conversed with him, soon found how much his outward Appearance had imposed upon their Judgment : For his Natural and Acquired Parts were extraordinary ; especially, his Eloquence was so great, that it was almost impossible to resist the Force of his Arguments. He was Master of a healthful Body, and an indefatigable Diligence to employ it, of unbounded Generosity, better skill'd in Negotiations, than in Military Commands, as a General ; yet in the main acknowledged even by his Enemies, to have been one of the greatest Men this later Age has produced, and worthy of a much better Fate.

He is often mistaken, (occasion'd by the Likeness of the Names) for *Peikul*, another *Livonian* Nobleman, a Prisoner at *Stockholm*, and put to Death by the King of *Sweden's* Order, for Crimes
much

much of the same Nature with *Patkul's*. Some Circumstances of his Death being pretty extraordinary, it will not be amiss to give a very short Account of them, as related by Persons of undoubted Credit.

After King *Charles* had entirely got the better of King *Augustus*, and the Latter was forced to comply with every Thing required of him; *Augustus*, in order to put the best Face he could upon a bad Matter, made great Entertainments for the King of *Sweden*, at a very fine Pleasure-House not far distant from *Dresden*: *Peikul's* poor Lady, and Children, had taken a great Journey from *Sweden*, on purpose to solicit for her Husband'sardon; and King *Augustus*, with his Courtiers, as well as several of the King of *Sweden's* Officers, had promised her to make use of the utmost of their Interest in her Behalf; and had contrived the Matter so, that after the usual Jollity, and good humour, caused by a great Feast, she, [with her Children, should unexpectedly come into the Dining-Room, and fall at the King of *Sweden's* Feet, imploring his Mercy for her Husband; to which King *Augustus*, with all the other Noble Guests, were to join their Intercession. So far Matters were well concerted; but the King of *Sweden* having

having by some Means or other, got an inkling of this Design, after he was come to the Place appointed for the Feast, and being resolved that nothing should prevent his Intention, desired Leave to retire for a few Minutes before Dinner, into a private Closet, where he called for Ink and Paper, and Wrote and Signed an Order, which he sent by Express, for *Peikul's* immediate Execution upon Sight of it. After this he came out to Dinner; which being ended, the poor Woman, and her Children, came in and flung her self at King *Charles's* Feet, as it had been forecasted, in the midst of the Mirth: King *Augustus*, with all the Company, mixing their Intercessions with her Tears: The King of *Sweden*, after some seeming Struggle, granted the Pardon which was desired, and Signed an Instrument to that Purpose, which by *Peikul's* Friends was presently dispatched away. But the King's Courier arrived first at *Stockholm*, and poor *Peikul* was Beheaded about Four Hours before the Second got thither.

'Tis necessary that the Reader should be informed, that *Peikul* had formerly had a Law-Suit with an Unkle of his for a considerable Estate; which went through all the usual Forms, and Courts in *Livonia*; and at last, according to the Laws of those Countries, was brought to the King for Decision;

son ; for to him is the last Appeal in all Civil Causes. The King gave Judgment against *Peikul* for this only Reason, because he was an *Alien*, and not his Natural-born Subject ; making the Advantage of *Peikul's* being dropt by his Mother, (by some Accident or other) in a Village within the Territories of *Poland*, about Three Miles distant from the Borders of *Livonia*. This was thought a very hard Decision of the Kings, it being notorious that *Peikul's* Family, and Estate, were always deemed *Livonian*.

However ; this Determination, unjust as it was, afterwards was brought as a good Argument for *Peikul* against the King, when His Majesty condemned him as a *Natural-born Subject of Sweden*. But it seems, though his being Born out of the King's Dominions, proved a good Reason for depriving him of his Estate, it proved ineffectual to the saving of his Life.

This is that King ; a Bigot too : And a Bigot (in any Religion) who has Power, is a ravenous Beast of Prey ; how much more, meeting with such a Disposition ?

This is he, whom some malicious Wretches, that call themselves *Englishmen*, are grown fond of ; whom they have chosen to be the Preserver of our Religion, Properties and Liberties. Not that they are ignorant, that as
I soon

soon as he has them in his Power, he would destroy them all : For what Man in his Senses, can expect he should use our Country better than his own ? But because, like him, they are so full of Revenge, they would sacrifice their own Well-being to their implacable Hatred of the Royal Family, and the present Government. I should not wonder, if some Ecclesiasticks, and University-Monks, who are proud and cruel by Institution, and have professedly banish'd all Charity, gave into this, or any other damnable Project, whereby they might hope to bring in their *Pretender*, and contributed Sums towards the Accomplishment of it.

These have made their bad Bargain, and foolishly depend upon its being kept. But that Laymen of Quality and Fortune, who have, or would be thought to have, some Remains of Humanity in their Breasts, who know somewhat of the World, and Mankind, who have forgotten their University Education, and better their Lives and Principles by conversing even with debauched Persons out of those Societies, who have not quite sold themselves to Priestcraft : That such as these, I say, should be capable of contriving the undoing themselves, and their Posterity, for the short Pleasure of Revenge, is most amazing. After-Ages will be astonished at their Choice ; but will conclude, that such a

ing could be only fit for such a People. And
 could to God they could have him entirely
 themselves; and that honest Men, who are
 a peaceable Disposition, were well rid of
 them all. I know several who would heartily
 contribute their Share of the Charges for
 transplanting them and their Effects to *Swe-*
den; where these Gentlemen might fully enjoy
 their invincible Hero, and in a short Time,
 have the Additional Blessing of feeding upon
 bread made of the Bark of Birch and Fir-trees,
 instead of that silly Top of a Weed, as the
Western Tartars despisingly call our Wheat.
 It far be it from any sober Man's Thoughts,
 to encourage the Entrance of such a fierce Spi-
 rit here among us; in Comparison of whom,
 the very *Pretender* himself would prove mild
 and gentle.



F I N I S.

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